

AN IMPARTIAL
ENQUIRY
INTO THE
Advantages and Losses
THAT
ENGLAND
HATH RECEIVED
Since the Beginning of this Present WAR
WITH
FRANCE.

The Second Edition.

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An Impartial

ENQUIRY

INTO THE

Advantages and Losses, &c.

I Undertake to prove in this Paper demonstratively, That there must be as much or more Money now in *England*, as was before the War, notwithstanding the great Sums that must needs have been issued out for the maintaining of our Forces in *Flanders*, or of our Alliances abroad, or for any other expences or losses made upon the account of this War; by shewing that *France* did draw before the War vast Sums of Money, beyond all comparison much greater than those that are issued out of *England* at this day; and which are now lessened by means of the new Manufactures establish'd, or settled in this Kingdom since the War: and also by reason that we have far greater advantages of all the Productions and old Manufactures of *England*, than we had before the War began, and a better Trade in some respects with several Foreign Nations. And then afterwards I shall examine the Objections raised about the Losses we suffer by the decay of Trade, occasion'd by *French* Men of War, or Privateers, or by the Money that may be sent into *France* by some to King *James*. I will also endeavour to lay open what may be the true reason of the complaints of some Shopkeepers, who say, they sell less and see less Money now than before, and do impute it to scarcity of Money. And then afterwards I intend to shew so far as the matter is capable of a demonstration, That there must needs issue out of *France* six times

more Money every year, without any return, than there does out of *England*, and set forth the ways by which this comes about.

1. It is well known that at present a very small quantity of *French Silks* is imported, and that instead thereof, a greater quantity is made in *England* than formerly. I will not determine upon the exact quantity of that Commodity which we brought out of that Country before the War; but I dare very well assure my Reader That the value was near a Million of Pounds Sterling, and that if all the Silk, wrought and worn in these three Kingdoms, and the *English* Plantations, did now come from *France*, as the greatest part of it did formerly, it would amount to above two Millions of Pounds. For 'tis observable, That here in *England* the meanest Women, and even Children of poor People, are in some measure cloathed from head to foot therewith. Now granting this reasonable opinion of the most intelligent men, That the Three Nations, with the *American* Plantations, contain Ten Millions of Subjects, and supposing that each person, one with another, may expend to the value of five shillings Annually in Silks, plain or flowr'd (which is the most modest computation) it would come to Two Millions Six Hundred Thousand Pounds Sterling. It cannot be denied, but this Manufacture is very much augmented in *England*, since the War, which otherwise, in all probability, would not have been; and it is much to be feared, these advantages may be revived to the *French*, whenever a Peace shall be restored to them, unless timely prevented by some Law or Statute. 'Tis well known that the Refugees have lately set up the Manufacture, of Lute-strings.

2. Does not this War likewise save us the expence of many Hundred Thousand Pounds, which were formerly exported for modish Stuffs of Gold and Silver, for Galloons, Fringes, Embroidries, Laces, and other Gold and Silver works of *French* Manufacture, which are now made in *England*? I speak only of what we save yearly in relation to the Fashion: for as to the materials of Gold or Silver, of which they were composed, they are for the most part as absolutely lost, as if our Money were still exported to *France*, or thrown into the Sea, which every year amounts to vast Sums.

3. *French*

3. *French* Points I shall not much insist on, because before the War, the use of them was in great measure left off. But when in Vogue, that piece of vanity did cost us Annually many Hundred Thousand Pounds.

4. But we must not forget the incredible Sums the importation of other Thread and Silk-laces, Ribbons, Silkgalloons, Tapes and Gimp, &c. did cost us.

5. What Treasures have the *French* gained from us, for *French* Linnen of all sorts? and for Gawses, Tickings, Canvas, Buckram, Oyl-Cloth, Linnen-Thread; I may modestly aver above Eight Hundred Thousand Pounds Yearly. It must be confessed, that great quantities of Linnen-Cloth are still imported, but out of other Countries, and not from our Enemies; and we have reason to hope the Linnen-Manufacture here set up, may in time, be sufficient to furnish this Kingdom.

6. It is well known also, that they have sold us several Woollen Manufactures (a thing much to be wondred at) as Serges, Druggets, and some other such things, which were brought hither from *Amiens*, *Chaalons*, *Rheims*, *Nismes*, *Cartres*, and other places in *France*, all which are now made here.

7. How many Hundred Thousand Pounds *per annum* did they draw from hence, for Cordage, Cables, Sail-cloth, Fishing-Nets? I must confess those Commodities are now brought from other Countries; but as I before mentioned, our Enemy gets nothing by it. Besides, these Nations are in part paid with our Commodities: whereas the *French* were for the most part paid in Money; because, as I shall shew hereafter, they took very few of our Commodities in Exchange.

8. What prodigious quantity of Wine, Brandy, Vinegar, Verjuice, was poured in Exchange upon us from *France*? which is now much lessened; though, to say the truth, too much of such Merchandises are still brought from other places; especially Wines. But we are fallen into a way of making Brandy of Beer, Cyder, and Mellasses, as also abundance of Vinegar. I believe I may affirm, That these last mentioned *French* Wares did cost *England* yearly Eight Hundred Thousand Pounds: half of which Sum is now spared: besides what *Scotland*, *Ireland*, and the Plantations did spend of them.

9. Great

9. Great quantities also of Window-Glasses were imported from *France*, (especially since the Fire of *London*) which did cost some Hundred Thousand Pounds yearly, (according to the relation of Merchants) but now we have enough of our own, and pretty good made here.

10. Before the War, we imported also abundance of *French* Hats, notwithstanding the Prohibition, as *Beyers*, *Demi-Castors*, *Codebecks* and other Hats. Now there is not only enough made here to supply the Three Kingdoms and the Plantations, but to send abroad also.

11. Great quantity of Castile-Soap was formerly brought from *France*, now made here.

12. We had likewise from thence great parcels of Leather dressed in Oyl, the Refugees have also brought this Manufacture into *England*; and we furnish not only the Three Kingdoms and Plantations, but Foreign Countries with it.

13. As also the Manufacture of Box and Tortoise-Combs, which we formerly had from *France*.

14. We likewise took off from the *French*, great quantities of all sorts of Paper; some being now made at Home, though a great deal be brought still from abroad. But it is alwayes to be hoped. If the Manufacture of Linnen-Cloath come to perfection, that of the Paper may likewise flourish; which will save to *England* large Sums.

15. Let us not forget the great quantities of House-hold Goods that were also imported from *France*, as Hangings, Beds, Quilts, Mattresses, Coverlets, Wollen-Fringe, wrought Chairs, Cabinets, Cases, Coffers and Trunks, &c. Which did cost us vast Sums.

16. Did not we also import great quantities of Salt from thence, for the three Kingdoms, more than Six or Seven Hundred Ships load every year, as appears by the Custom-house Books? which amounted to great Sums; instead of which we can make enough now for our own expence, and of so good quality, I judge, as to forbear for the future, that of *France*.

17. What a deal of Fruit was brought hither from that Country? An able and experienced Merchant hath assured me, that in Prunes only, *England* hath annually expended above Fifty Thousand Pounds.

Besides

Besides great quantities of Apples and Pears, bak'd and raw, Comfits, Nuts, Oyl, Olives, Almonds, Raisins of the Sun, Capers, Figs, Honey, Saffron, Anchoves, &c. All which amounted to great Sums.

18. Many other kinds of small Wares, as Skins perfum'd, and not perfum'd, for the making Gloves; as Skins of Sheep, Kids, and Dogs, esteem'd better from that Country, than our own; Rozin, Cork, &c.

19. Several sorts of Essences, Perfumes, Hungary Water, Orvietan, Wash-Balls, perfuming-Pots, Pastiles &c. Abundance of our Money was carried away for these things.

20. As also great quantities of Verdigrease, which the *French* begin to make here. They make likewise here at present abundance of Cotton-cloaths painted.

21. We got also formerly great quantities of false Pearls for Neck-Laces from *France*, which are now made here.

22. Many thick Stockins mill'd, that are called *bas de S. Maixent*, were also imported from *France*, and are now made here.

23. Would not one wonder that from *Paris* only the value of one Hundred Thousand Pounds, and above, in Perriwigs, should be sent yearly hither? as some able intelligent Perriwigmakers of *Paris*, now in *London*, can attest. Whereof, for the most part, there was no notice taken at the Custom-house.

24. Who can compute the infinite number of other toys and trifles, (whereof a Man might make several Articles of great expence to this Nation) which we drew from thence, and though things, for the most part of no use, exhausted much of our treasure; Notwithstanding the most part of these things might be as easily made in *England* as there. That we may in some manner, conceive the number of them, we must know that there are many hundred different kinds of Manufactures small and great, wherein the *French* excelled, or had the reputation: or else sold them cheaper than we did, which, howsoever, the *English* would rather have, than what was made in their own Country. For example, Masks, Muffs, Fans, Caps, Hatbands, Hoods, Belts, Girdles, Palatines, Looking-Glasses of a Hundred sorts, Feathers for Hats and Caps; dressing-Boxes, Brushes,

Brushes, Cassets, Stands, Pictures inamel'd and painted, and all others; Sculptures, Gravings in Gold and Silver, Brass, Ivory; Watches, Bracelets, Tablets, Chest-boards, small Tables, Tables to play at Dice, &c.

25. Cards, Needles, Pins, several sorts of Gloves perfumed and others, Medals, Counters of various sorts, fine purses, dressing cloaths, holy Beads for *Ireland*.

26. A great quantity of Ironmongers Wares of all kinds.

27. Several sorts of Chirurgeons Instruments, and Tools for the cutting and dressing of Trees, Scizzars, many Wire and Spring works.

28. Several Gold and Silver Vessels, which were better made in *France*, than here, as Gold and Silver-Boxes, Tweezers with Tooth-Pickers, Silver Ink-horns, Spoons, Forks, Snuffers, Handles, and Hilt for Swords, of Gold and Silver, Seals-graved, fine Diamonds ready set, Diamonds of the Temple, Tobacco and Snuff-Boxes of a Hundred sorts, some whereof for the sole graving cost Thirty or Forty Pistoles, Gold and Silver Buttons, Buckles, Sleeve-Buttons &c.

29. A great many Instruments of Musick of all sorts; Hair-Powder, Sealing Waxes and others, Gilt-Paper, and what not? even to the very Paint and Patches for Ladies. What great quantities of Buttons made of Linnen-Thread, Silk, Hair, Glass, Brass, Jet; of Shooe-Buckles, &c.

30. What a world of other Trinkets of Steel, Wood, Iron, Brass, Copper, Ivory, Horn, Leather, Hair, &c. Who can imagine or number up those numberless baubles, which put altogether amounted to vast Sums, whereof the Custom-house Officers took no Cognizance, being conveyed either in the Male Packet, or in the Travellers Pocket.

31. Swords of various sorts, Pistols, Guns and other Arms.

32. Saddles, Housses, Holsters, all Embroidered, Scarfs of Gold and Silver, Boots, &c.

32. What a deal of *French* Books, Plays, Romances, Histories and Storys, Geographick Cartes, were we glutted withal. When the *English* travelled there, in their return they seldom failed of bringing quantities of those things, some of which were good for nothing,

nothing, than to corrupt the manners of this Nation. Some *English* Gentlemen, and Persons of Quality, upon returning home, have brought with them, in those kind of things, to the value of some Hundred Pounds Sterling.

33. What expence was every Year made in Patterns or Fashions for all sorts of works, for Furniture, Apparel, and Cloaths, from *France*; which made a great Trade of it, drawing advantage from the weaknesses and folly of other Nations; in order to which, she altered the Mode often; Those Modes were commonly invented by some scandalous People in *France*, and first followed, by People of the same order in *England*, and so spread throughout the Nation, *sicut grex totus in agris unius scabie cadit*; One Scabby Sheep commonly infects the whole Flock. Hence sprang those Fantastical Dresses of Top-knots and Bridles, *alias Fontanges* and *Maintenons*, which our Women have with that greediness adopted. Not a Workman here, but thought his Reputation in danger if he had not a Model for every piece of work, which related to his Profession. The Court governed by such as had *French Hearts*, favoured, and gave scope to all those follies for the more effectual corrupting this Nation, and pleasing *France*, which, in that respect, did look upon us *English*, as their abject and servile Tributaries. So that the Roades were always full of Trades People, coming or going to *France*, upon the account of New-Fashions. Some indiscreet Gentlemen and Ladies were so Nice as to have all their Cloathing brought here ready made from *France*, even to their very Shoes, as if the People of this Island had no capacity for making of these things.

34. 'Tis incredible also, what Money was spent in the carriage of those Fripperies, and in the Postage of Letters written on these trifling accounts; the profit of which remained to the *French*. Let any indifferent Reader judge, what prodigious sums of Money were lost in those trifles every year, which the War and Necessity have taught us make at home. But I will take the liberty to say, that it is much to be feared, that if great caution be not taken, many of those things may be fetcht again from *France*, after a Peace, by reason of that inveterate and perverse custom this Nation hath so long laboured under; and wherewith the Women specially are so infect-

ed, as to think their Money never well bestowed, but in such things as come from thence; And moreover, there are so many loytering and lazy People, who without working lived and enriched themselves with that Trade, so ruinous and fatal to this Nation, and who are strangely displeased to see all those Manufactures set up in this Kingdom, in regard they sold the *French* Commodities, Toyes and Modes at their own Rates. Besides the New-Manufactures that have been established or settled in *England* since the War, there are many old Trades and Arts, that are every day brought to greater perfection, I do not pretend to name them all, but only to give some instances; As for example, Men's Shoes are better made, as also Boots for the Army; Men and Women's Cloathing likewise; Swords and their Hiltts. Guns, Pistolls, Gun-Powder; several works of Silk, that are every day refined; Several sorts of Dies, or Dyings; confections; Ferriwigs; I am told also that some sorts of Leather are better Tanned; Women's-Gloves also better made; several sorts of Linnen-Dresses; the Books better bound, Marbled, and Gilded than before; Geographick Cartes better likewise; Perfuming is better; Embroidering of all Sorts better; Women's-Fans better made and Painted; Engraving and Brass-cuts better; all Gold and Silver works neater; the set of Diamonds better; all sorts of works in general better Gilded; Candles are better and whiter. Window-Glasses and Looking-Glasses better; Purcellan and all other sorts of Earthen-Vessels better made now; Vinegar is also better; several works of Gold and Silver-Thread likewise better made now than before the War. And many other things besides.

36. War brings also this advantage with it, That *France* is frustrated of those great supplies of our Wooll, wherewith (notwithstanding our prohibiting Laws) She so much abounded during the peace; tho' (to the shame of some amongst us) it must be acknowledged, that still too much is conveyed thither; which, as it hath not a little contributed to the Establishment of a Woollen Manufacture in that Nation; so hath it no less hastned the decay thereof in this Kingdom, in so much that they had not only sufficient quantity to store themselves with, but grew so plentiful in those kind of Wares, as (in time of Peace) to furnish several other places, as *Italy*,
Spain,

Spain, and *Portugal*; nay, the very Source, *England* it self; for it is well known, that great quantity of Woollen Manufactures were brought hither, wrought and finished in that Country, which employed great Numbers of their People, whilst our Artificers wanting business, began to fall into Poverty, their Trade daily decreasing, or totally Sinking, instead of being Vigorous and Flourishing, as when the *French* were furnished from *England* with Woollen Commodities. For the better comprehending how prejudicial this hath proved to us, and how advantageous to *France*, let us consider that one Pound of unwrought-Wooll is worth 6, 8, 10. and 12 times as much, when the Manufacture thereof composed, is totally finished, as it was before; which so much supports and enables, as well the Manufacturers, as such as employ them, and increase the Duties of Importation and Exportation to that Government where they are wrought; so that supposing the *French* did draw to the value of Fifty Thousand Pounds yearly in unwrought *English* Wooll (it is certain they draw much more than that) the Production of that will be 6, 8, 10, and 12 times as much Money. After its being made up in Stockins, Elankets, Druggets, Serges, or Cloath.

37. The same thing may be said of Rabbet-Skins, and Hare-Skins, which they fetched out of *England*, in great quantities, for their Manufacture of Hats, which were sent hither, to *Spain*, *Portugal*, and other Countries, who formerly were furnished from this Kingdom.

38. It is not likewise probable, that by reason of this War, *Ireland* being now reduced, we shall draw greater advantages now, than we could during the Peace, by their Cattle, Wooll, Hides, Butter, Tallow, (if any can be spared we shall reap the benefit of the Freight and Carriage of those things, whether they be brought and (if the Parliament think fit) Manufactured in *England* or whether they be carried else where, *Ireland* will expend vast quantities of our Merchandizes, which heretofore was sent from *France*: This advantage will be double in regard, that, in this respect, our Enemy will not only be a loser, but we shall be Gamers. Though there was no other benefit, but the preventing *France*, from having such great quantities of *Irish* Woolly as they formerly had, yet

the consequence to us must be considerable, for the *French* bought that Wool at an easy Rate, and paid them in Wine, Brandy, Salt, and such other Wares of that Country; by this means they obtain'd abundance of Wooll, sufficient, not only for their own Manufactures, but even to furnish other Countrys cheaper than we could. This advanc'd their Customs, and more and more enabled them to ruin our Commerce from Port to Port, and to augment their Maritime Force. Moreover, they did fetch from that Island, such incredible quantites of Butter, Cheese, Beef, at so cheap a price, as enabled the *French* Artificers to work for smaller Wages; and consequently their Merchants, to under-sell us; as likewise by Victualling their Ships at a cheaper Rate; much to the Destruction of our Navigation. But now, we supply *Ireland* with Furniture of all sorts, Iron-Mongers Wares, Hats, Stockins, Gloves, Ribbons, Buttons, Sugar, Tobacco, Wines, Vinegar, Strong-Waters, Dying Stuffs, Silks, Galloons, Woollen and Fine Linnen-Cloath, Hops, Beer, Spices and Drugges; with a great number of other small Merchandizes, both for necessity and Ornament; which being formerly wholly carried thither from *France*, was a notorious prejudice to us, and very much contributed to the enormous growth of the *French* Power.

39. It is apparent also, that since the War, our Commerce with the *Scotch* is in a great measure increased; that Country taking off from us much of the same Commodities which I mentioned when I discoursed of *Ireland*, which formerly were imported from *France*. I confess that in exchange for many things of the growth of *Scotland*, the *Hollanders* do in part furnish them also.

40. Neither must we forget the advantages, which by reason of this War, we reap from the industry of the Inhabitants of *Jersey* and *Guernsey*: which is not so inconsiderable, as it is generally thought. For you must know, that this diligent people, though they fetch all their Wooll from *England*, yet after it was converted into wares, they carried them into *France*. So that it was *France* that in time of Peace had the profit of our Woolls, and of the Labour of that People, who gained no more than a livelihood, receiving in lieu of their Manufactures, *French* Wares and Provisions: so that when the

the Duties of exporting and importing were satisfied, they had little reason to boast of their gain. Instead of which the Goods made there of our Wooll, are brought now hither, and disposed amongst us in exchange of such Merchandize as they have occasion for; so that 'tis no wonder if *France* during the War, disturbs not the repose of those Islands, whose Wealth she drains away in time of Peace, without being at the expence of protecting them.

41. I presume that no considering person will doubt that in many other respects, our Trade is better now than before the War: For example, as to *Spain*, and *Portugal*, by reason of the great quantities of Manufactures they draw from *France* during the Peace, which is discontinued not only in relation to freedom of Trade, but principally, in regard that their Manufactories which before the War were in a flourishing condition, are now much decayd, partly by reason of that Kingdoms being so much depopulated, and of the incredible poverty of those poor wretches in that Kingdom, and partly for want of materials, as Wooll, raw Silk, Raboit Skins, &c. for which they were beholding to other Countries, whereof they made an infinite quantity of woollen Stuffs, Silks, Hats and other Merchandizes, wherewith they supplied a great part of *Europe* as I said before. But now through occasion of the Persecution in *France*, their Manufactories have been communicated to *England*, and by this War more firmly settled there: and by this means we are in a capacity of furnishing, and we do actually furnish *Spain*, *Portugal*, *Italy*, *Turky*, and many Islands in the *Mediterranean* Sea, with far greater quantities of our Manufactures than we did before. I except this Year that has been unlucky. For, God be thanked, our Merchants want neither Materials, Artists nor Money to carry on their Trade: and as to *Spain*, there is reason to hope that that State will for the future play their game better than formerly, by prohibiting all their Subjects to have any Commerce with *France* directly or indirectly: Then, by this means we shall find occasion to transport far greater quantities of our Commodities to those parts of the *West-Indies* belonging to *Spain*: *Spain* cannot find a more efficacious method for the humbling of *France* than by doing

doing this, and confiscating absolutely (thereby to retaliate in part the barbarous practices of that Enemy) all the *French Effects* ; for in such a case the lenity is a piece great of cruelty, as well against the *Spanish Nation*, as against all its Enemies.

42. It is plain, that we export also much more of our Manufactures into *Germany, Denmark, Sweden, Poland, &c.* than we did before the War : because the same kind of Merchandizes that we supply them with now, were formerly sent thither by the *French*. I do not insist so much upon the importation we make of all their Commodities, no more than that on which we make from other Countries, because commonly too much is imported of all sorts from all Countries ; and tho Importation is the less profitable part of the Trade of a Nation, tho I confess the Exportation cannot well subsist without Importation.

43. Every body knows, That our Trade with the *Dutch and Spanish Netherlands* is far greater now than ever it was, and that they draw ten times more of our Commodities of all sorts than they did formerly : I say every body knows it, therefore I shall not insist on't. But only say this, That it is probable more Money is returned from thence to *England* for the prodigious quantity of our Commodities, they get more usually than is remitted thither for the payment of our Army.

44. Neither were the mischiefs that attended that counterfeit Peace we had with *France*, confined to those disadvantages I have already mentioned concerning the Trade we had with them. What shall we say then of the destructive custom of travelling into *France* by the Nobility and Gentry of these three Kingdoms. I will not determine upon the exact sum of that luxurious expence : but if I say that *France* by those Journeys of Curiosity received yearly of our Money at least one Million of Pounds Sterling, I do not exceed the bounds of moderation ; but I refer it to the judgment of all men to determine according to their own sentiments, and if they please to reduce the probable expences of those Travellers to one half, it will be still a mighty Sum, which we save now. But least I may be accused of a rash, and unreasonable aggravation, I shall offer what follows to your consideration. Suppose then that before
this

this War there were continually in *France* of the Natives of these Kingdoms eight thousand Persons, and that taking one with another, Master with Servant, the expence of each might be one hundred pounds yearly; for whoever considers the humour of the generality of the people of these Islands, who of late years would hardly allow any to be well bred, if they had not made their *Tour* in *France*, and resided there for some time; though the accomplishments of too many ended in the affectation of gaudiness and levity, instead of their innate Sobriety, and in the management of an amorous intrigue, sometimes with a witness, instead of the prudent observation of the Policies of the Country: I say, whoever will consider of the prodigious number of *English*, *Scotch*, and *Irish* who speak *French*, and who have been in *France*, either upon their own account or as Attendants upon others (without including such whose Military or merchandizing employments obliged their residing there) must be convinced that the number always there could be no less than eight thousand; in many of the great Towns of that Kingdom they were swarming; most of the Roads crowded by their numbers, either riding Post, or with the Messenger, or in Coaches from one Town to another: The Universities and Academies of that Kingdom were full of them; several Women got the trick of going thither under pretence of recovering their Healths, for their diversion, with their whole Family, where they have passed some years successively. How many is there of both Sexes who propose already the going thither for a considerable time, when ever a Peace shall be concluded. It is well known that many Lords and Gentlemen have spent their whole Estates there. It must be confessed that this curiosity so common to our Nation and which so much favours of licentiousness, is not one of the least misfortunes of our Country, from hence and specially from the voyages into *Italy*, spring those Vices and that spirit of Prophaneness, which reigns so much amongst us. Young Gentlemen are oftentimes sent to Travel, before they can well say their Prayers, or at least before they have learned their Chatechism, or can give any account of their Religion, and that which is much to be lamented under mercenary and impious Tutors. So that it is no wonder if they

they contract the Vices of those Countries, and return with so little fear of God. But to come back to my subject, that I have endeavoured to prove, *viz.* that in time of Peace there were seldom less than eight thousand Subjects of the Kingdom of *England* in *France* in the time of Peace; Let us take for granted the supposition of Sir *William Petty*, and others of our ingenious Countrymen, who by their way of computing, found that there are ten Millions of the King of *Englands* Subjects within these three Kingdoms, supposing one out of every Twelve Hundred to be at the same time in *France*, that would amount to Eight Thousand. Or if you please to call to mind, That in *England* there are near ten thousand Parishes, and in the two other Kingdoms a great number; suppose in all the three Kingdoms sixteen thousand Parishes, taking one man for every two Parishes, will likewise amount to my proposed number of eight thousand. But in such a matter as this, I refer my self to the Reader's judgment.

Object. If any one should by way of objection tell me, That the Nobility of *France* did in like manner travel into *England*: I must say that would be a very weak reason, since they were but a small number that came hither, and they did not make any stay, unless you will put into that rank, a great many Cheats who came over to scum the Purfes of our Gamesters, Murtherers who fled from Justice; Dancing-Masters, Quacks, Comedians, Pipers, Barbers, *Valets de Chambre*, Cooks, Spies, Fryers and such Tools, Papists for the most part, who upon any plausible pretence or other, promoted the base intrigues of the Court of *France*. I confess some petty Merchants came to sell their Silks, and French Points, Wine, and Brandy, or some prohibited Wares, and to settle a confederacy here for the defrauding the King of his Customs. And I verily believe, that we save again in that respect several Hundred Thousand Pounds that the French Gamesters got from us every year here in *London*.

45. One may think that *France* did likewise take abundance of our Commodities; and so if on our side we gain much by saving what we used to expend in their Trade, they are also gainers on their part,

part, by taking no more of ours. But there's a great disparity in the Trade of these two Nations. We have seen at large that, one way or other, *France* did apparently draw from us more than four Millions of Pounds Sterling of our Money every year. Whereas it appears, not only by the Entries of the *English* Customs, but also by those of *France*, that what they took of our Merchandize in the year they took most, as I shall shew hereafter, amounted not to one Million of Pounds Sterling, and other years it came to much less. And it has been observed, That in the year 1669, the Merchandizes they drew from us, came not to above 171021 Pounds Sterling, by the Custom Books. What they took of us in time of Peace, consisted in woollen cloth and other woollen-stuffs, woollen and silk Hose, Tin, Lead, Coals, Allum, Indigo, Gall-nuts, some Leather and Calves Skins, dry Fish, some Cotton and Pepper, some Horses, some few Knives, and Bear-Gloves. And here we must observe, That whereas heretofore we had great sale for our wollen Stuffs, viz. to the value of 6 or 7 hundred thousand Pound Sterling annually, *France* has supplanted us in this Manufacture, by the favour she found in the two last Reigns, and has continually, as we have said, drawn from us great quantity of our Wooll, as also from *Ireland*, which she has employed to the ruin of this Nation, furnishing us with our own Wooll manufactured by them: and they more successfully to destroy our Manufacture and set up their own, they had laid excessive Custom upon our Stuffs, which came to no less for Entry than 50 per Cent. which was all one with a Prohibition, and very high the like upon silk and Woollen-sockings, and other Merchandize. Tin and Lead sold there for not above half the price they went at formerly. I have already spoken of what they drew formerly from *Ireland*, a Trade very disadvantageous to us, the principal profit of which accrued to the *French*. They also profited much by *Scotland*, from whence they fetcht salt Fish and a few Coals, whereas the *Scotch* took great quantities of their Wines, Brandy and Manufactures of all sorts: And 'tis observable that whereas our Merchandizes coming into *France* yielded but a moiety of what they formerly did to the *English* Merchant: they to the contrary almost every year raised the Custom

Custom, and Prizes of those we had from them. As for example in Wines, that are taken notice to have doubled their price since the year 67. at what time Clarets cost not above 43. Crowns per Tun, clear aboard.

Some may be apt to object that some French Merchandizes do come still into England, as Lutestrings and other Commodities, so that they get some of our Money still; I grant it, but it is a small matter in comparison of what they got before. And I believe there is at least as much of our Commodities exported into France, now, as of theirs imported here. And I am afraid they got too much both of ours and of the Irish this year, especially Corn and Beef, &c.

For proof that since the year 1663, when Mr. Portrey wrote his Discourse of Trade, there has been imported from France more Merchandizes than any time before, and that every year the quantities still increased. Some Merchants presented a Memorial to the Lords Commissioners upon a Treaty of Commerce with France in the year 74. to that purpose, and justified it by the Entries at London, for example, from Michaelmas 1663, to Michaelmas 1664, were 6828 Tun of Wine from France, and so little Brandy that it was not worth speaking of.

From Michaelmas 67. to Michaelmas 69, there was entred in the Port of London, for those two years, 17000 Tuns of French Wine, and about 3000 Tuns of Brandy. From Michaelmas 72, to Mich. 74, there was entred in the Port of London 22900 Tun of French Wine, and Brandy in proportion, for in one of those two years from Mich. 73, to Mich. 74, there was entred in the said Port 5000 Tun of Brandy, and so every year more and more, so that it is assured by credible Authors, that in the year 1676 the Entries in the Port of London were 36000 Tun of Wine, whereas in 1650, 51, 52, they came to no more than about 3000 Tun per annum. If we estimate these 36000 Tun of Wine only at 15 l. sterling per Tun, which is the least they can well be estimated at, 'twill come to more than 7 Millions of French Money. What would it be then, if we reckoned the Brandy and Vinegar? And to that was added what came into Scotland and Ireland: What would it amount to, if we joyned to that what was imported into the rest of the Ports of

of *England*, of which there was no mention? And if with that we suppose that the Entries at *London* were almost double in the 3 or 4 years immediately preceding the War, especially the last is, wherein there was imported to the value of many Millions of pounds Sterling. There was also imported in that year proportionably a great deal more Silks, Linnen, Paper, and other Commodities, than in the times those Merchants lived.

One may also shew how *France* laid still greater and greater Impositions upon the *English* Commodities.

In the year 1632, the Custom for a Piece of Broad-Cloth was six Livers. In the year 44, 'twas 9 Livers, the year 54, 'twas 30 Livers, in 64, 'twas 40 Livers, and notwithstanding that the *English* carried still great quantities of Broad-Cloth, but in the year 67, the Duty was swelled to 80 Livers, that is about 50 per Cent. continually growing worse and worse.

In the year 32, a piece of Serge paid 1 Liver Custom, and each year increased so, that in the year 67, one piece paid 12 Livers, which was likewise about 50 per Cent. and the like of other Merchandizes.

So that it is more than probable by all what I have said, that there must be much more Money in *England* now than before this War, unless one will say that there goes 30 or 40 Millions of Livers yearly out of *England* by reason of this War. For we have reason enough to believe, *France* did draw no less, every Year, besides the Commodities she got from us, I mean in clear Money. Whereas our extravagant Murmurers do not account the sums of Money issued out of *England* by reason of the War, to be above a Million Sterling. Never was any Trade so Ruinous to a Nation, as that we had with *France*. I confess we are obliged still to fetch some Wares of the same Nature as they afforded us, from other Nations, but then they take at least as much of ours in Exchange, and we do not lie under such disadvantages with them. Without repeating here the great Number of Manufactures, wherein we have supplanted them, and which will probably remain in our perpetual possession, besides that, I say, our Trade is in several other respects, tho' not in all much better even at present, than it was before

fore the War. So that when all things are duly considered, neither the maintaining of our Forces in *Flanders*, which do not cost above Sixty Thousand Pounds a Month, nor the mischief of the *French* Men of War, or Privateers, do us, or any other expences made abroad for our Alliances, or otherwise, upon the account of this War, can in any sort counterpoise the Reasons I have produced to prove, That *England* is better stored with Money now than 'twas before this War, As for the Money, which is in great quantity destroyed by the Gold-Smiths, whose Numbers increase daily, it confirms rather what I proposed, than contradicts it. I should say a word of the prodigious quantity of that Metal, which is destroyed by the extravagant Luxury of this Age, without which Money would be abundantly more plentiful than it is, in Fringes, Galoons, and other Stuffs of Gold and Silver, but I forbear, because that piece of folly was in use as well before this War, as now.

I shall only add to what I said already, some Maxims. But before I come to these, I cannot forbear answering a very plausible Objection which takes with a great many of the common People of *London*, and especially those about *Westminster*, which is this. They think, Money is not so common, because they do not sell as dear, nor so many things, or have not so much work, or so many Lodgers as before the War. But it does not follow from thence, That there should be less Money in *England*; There might possibly be less about *Westminster* than before, but not less in the Kingdom. Neither should the consequence be necessary, That because they sell less, and at a less price, or work less, or have fewer Lodgers, Money should therefore be more scarce about *Westminster*. For it is possible that there might be more Sellers, Handicrafts, Tradesmen, House-keepers, than there are Buyers and others that set Men at Work, or Lodgers; or else, that many Wares being made here, which were not made before, but came from *France*, the Shop-keeper gets less, because the price and value of them is better known. It may be also, That the Number of Tradesmen and House-keepers is multiplied more than that of Buyers or Lodgers. And indeed these Reasons are partly the cause of it, besides several others which follow. 1. Many People had formerly from *France* several sorts of wares

wares, as I said before, which others do make and sell themselves now; the first complain, the last are silent, or rather they complain also, because the Commodities do not sell so dear, as usually when it came from *France*, which is very unjust. They have before their eyes some examples of People that got great Estates Twenty or Thirty Years ago by the same Trades, and they lament because the Profits are much less now. By that reason, Gentlemen and Ladies and every one that buy such things cheaper than heretofore, have a great advantage, and so it is good in general to the Nation, who is thereby secured from all Importation of such things from abroad, and enabled to send out many such things to the Foreign Countries, by underselling others, as in effect they do. 2. It is certain, the Hawkers and Pedlers do a great prejudice to the Shopkeepers at this end of the Town, because by their not being at the charge of keeping Houses or Shops, and living in Cellars or Garrets, they may afford their Commodities cheaper. 3. The number of Houses and Shops grows prodigiously, & they are built larger and better than they used to be, which ruins both House and Shopkeepers, whose numbers multiply much more than either that of Lodgers or Buyers, as I said already. So that Houses and Shops are not only more numerous, but larger and dearer; and yet the Merchandize is cheaper for all there are few Buyers and Lodgers. I did wonder for my part a hundred times, how they could hold out so long. 'Tis not the War that causes it, unless it by the superfluity of Money that invites people to build so many Houses, and the Country people to come to the Town and take a House or a Shop for to live in idleness, after they have got some Money in the Country. I am certain, that if so be the Nation continues in that Spirit of Building, the complaints will be still greater in time of Peace, and then they shall not accuse the War, but shall find some other reason. There are in *London* and *Westminster* Shops enough to serve all the Cities, Towns and Boroughs in *England*. I dare say, more than are in half of the Cities of the Kingdom of *France*, including *Paris*. 4. Another reason why Money seems to be not so plentiful, is, That in such a time as this, there are always a great many who fearing the events of such an important War, retrench their expences and hoard up Money

Money, especially those that are disaffected to the present Government, as *Jacobites*, *Papists*, and others. There is no doubt also, but in time of the Campaign, when the King is absent, and so many Noblemen and Officers by Sea and Land, and others retire into the Country; I say, there is no doubt, but this does some prejudice to this end of the Town, that has greater dependence on the Court; but in the Winter-time, when the King is at home, and the Parliament sits, they are better contented. 6. Many of the Nobility and Gentry have endured great losses in *Ireland*, by the War in that Country, which cannot live so splendidly as before. 7. No doubt also, but many may be indisposed by the Taxes, not to spend altogether as much as they did before the War; and yet it is said, that the Farmers pay better now than they did, and that the Rents of the Lands increase, which is a kind of compensation for the Taxes. For both are occasioned by this War. 8. Some Merchants also gaining less spend less. 9. The dearth of Bread at present, makes the times seem harder to many than they would otherwise. There may be some other reason which I do not apprehend, of the apparent scarcity of Money; but certainly, 'tis only an apparent scarcity, and not a real one, as to the Kingdom in general. For how many Manufacturers are there who thrive better now than in time of Peace? How many Officers by Sea and Land, who had scarcely Bread before, that live now handsomely? How many Trades more flourishing, that were almost useless before. As to the Farmers and Country-people, who are the bulk of the Nation, who can deny that they fare better than before, and have more Money? No doubt but some Towns and Countries in *England* may be more sensible of that prosperity than others: as for example, *Portsmouth*, and the adjacent Country, and some other Sea Towns.

But to the end that this Point may be unquestionably proved, I shall add these four Maxims.

1st. That in all Countries of the World, 'tis an uncontroverted Maxim, that when a Nation builds many more Houses than there are falling or fallen, then it is an undeniable evidence of the prosperity of that Nation, and of its abounding in Money. 'Tis just
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the case of *England* now, and the contrary in *France*, where no new Houses have been built these five or six years, tho perhaps the half of the Houses of that Kingdom are falling to ruin. But I foresee some will say, That this is not the question which I proposed at first, that it is indeed a sign of plenty of Money in *England*, but not that it is more plentiful than it was before the War, since as many Houses were built before in the late King's time, as are now. Many will affirm, that more are built now than under King *James's* Reign; but I do not stick to that. I insist only upon this, that for the building of as many Houses in the time of such a War as this, as in time of Peace, more Money is requisite; because the wants of the War must be supplied, first with part of that Money, and then some part of the overplus is employed in Buildings: which two things being done at one and the same time, and the Money passing through such different hands, evidences, that there must be more Money than before; and that is yet confirmed by what I said before, that it is undeniably certain, that a great number of wealthy men well stored with Money, treasure it up at such a time as this, and do not let it run as before.

One must not say, that it is want of Trade that occasions the building of so many Houses. For it is not the Merchants who build Houses commonly; as that objection seems to suppose; so far from that, That it is some of them that complain of the interruption of Trade. Now if they did bestow their Money upon building of Houses, they should not be able to employ it in Trade, and consequently would not complain of the want of Trade.

2ly, The greater facility there is in a Nation in finding Money to borrow, the greater is the plenty of Money commonly supposed to be: so it is now with *England*. The King and Parliament do borrow more Money now, and with greater facility, than ever was done in *England* under any other Reign, in respect of the great Sums they want and borrow, and that is done without any force or violence offered to any, and not as is usual in *France*, where the King borrows *extorquendo*, with intention never to pay again: which differs only in name from Robbery. And as to the private Men here in *England*, no doubt but the Lands yield them greater Rents, and bet-

ter paid than before the War, the owners may find Money to borrow more easily also. It is quite contrary with *France*, for lending is quite out of fashion there: No good will is wanting for borrowing, but only for lending: Their King indeed does borrow, as I said, but by forcing, as others rob; but now with all his skill he can hardly find where. And this observation about the facility of finding Money here for the King and Parliament, is the more to be taken notice of. That a considerable part of the wealthy ones do lend very little or nothing at all to the King, as for example, the *Jacobites* and *Papists*, and *Quakers*; yea, and even many well affected Persons, but too timorous, who as well as those I named just now, lay up Money, not altogether to the same ends, but only for fear of the dubious events of the War.

3. Here is a Third Maxim no less certain, which is, That when a Nation has plenty of all things, and has withal a better vent of all the Commodities of it's own Production, and of it's Manufactures, without the less scarcity in any thing, 'tis an infallible sign of a great prosperity, and that Money is more copious than before. It's so now with *England*. I spoke enough already of the Manufactures; it's certain also that all the Productions of the growth of *England* are plentiful, and sell at a better Rate than in time of Peace. As, for example, Cattle, Oxen, Cows, Horses, Sheep, Hogs, all sorts of Grain and Corn, Butter, Cheese, Wool, Leather, Hops, Copper, Tin, Lead, Iron, Salt, Glass, Fish, Coals, and all sorts of Woollen Stuffs, &c. If any kind of those Commodities has not increased in Price, it is worth at least as much as usually, and the rest brings more Money to the Vender. I confess, That in *France*, all their Commodities are also very much dearer than they used to be; but it is well known also, that it proceeds from meer scarcity, and it's certain too that if Money was as common there, as 'tis in *England*, things would be two or three times dearer than they are, such is the scarcity of all things necessary for the Sustenance of Man's life; and 'tis only for the use of the Natives, whereas Strangers carry those things away from us for Money. It were mightily to be wished, that there were in this Kingdom the same prosperity as to Piety and Vertue.

4. Neither is this Maxim less infalible, viz. That when the number of Manufactures and Manufacturers, and all other sorts of Handicrafts and Workmen increase in a Nation, and that withal their Wages and Salaries do not decay, but rather augment, it is an undeniable Argument, that there is already a greater quantity of Money than there was before, which will still increase more and more : 'tis so with *England*. The multitude of Manufacturers and Handicrafts increase, and their Wages withal do not decrease. Ergo, *England* grows Richer and better stored with Money than before. As for *France*, all the Manufactures are at a low Ebb, and the Salleries and Wages of those that hold out still are decreased by half in half. Those four Maxims are I throw without exception, and tho only one of them should agree with the present State of *England*, I should think to have sufficiently proved the matter in hand : but all four perfectly agreeing with it, a man must be more than obstinate, especially after all the other evidences I have brought in besides, to deny that there is more Money at present in this Kingdom than before the War.

I will add these two things further, That Money being so scarce in *France*, where it was so wonderfully plentiful some years ago : 'Tis likely that *England* must be better provided with it ; as it is certain that while the *French* had such plenty of it, were so well provided with it, we were in a much worse condition in that respect, just as in a Ballance, when one side rises, the other falls. This is the First thing,

The Second is, That as to *London* in particular, the number of Houses increaseth every day, and the old ones being rebuilt stronger and larger than before, the Rent of all the Houses taken together and in bulk, augments very much yearly ; I dare say, it increases about twenty or thirty thousand Pounds Sterling *per annum* : I mean that they produce as much this year to the Owners above the Rent of the last year, and will yield the next as much above the Rent they yielded this, and so forth, till the Nation grows disgusted at it, and the spirit of building departs from them ; or else, That the Parliament puts a stop to it. If it be so then, That the Rent augments so prodigiously, there must be an increase of Money in *London*.

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don proportionably, tho people do not judge so. As for *France*, it is no wonder Money should be so scarce among them, and that the Nation should be reduced to such a calamity, as all the Letters from each Province of that Kingdom do make it evident; whereof some say that their King will be forced next year to raise the values of his Coin by half. There is much more cause to admire how he could find so much Money in his Kingdom, and hold out so long, being deprived of all Commerce both within and without; having lost all his Manufactures, and so vast a number of Subjects by the Persecution, with innumerable Sums ('tis probable they may amount to about Forty Millions of Livers) which they brought out of the Kingdom before the War, and continue to bring some daily; besides many Hundred Thousand Men he has lost by this War. We have in truth great cause to wonder by what he has done with the prodigious quantity of Money which was in *France* ten years ago. For it is very like, That by that Persecution he drove away above a Hundred and Fifty Thousand Persons (suppose that every Person has brought along with him, one with another, three Hundred Livers, it will come to Forty Five Millions of Livers) and by these five years continuance of the War, Two Hundred Millions of Money have been conveyed out of that Kingdom, one way or another. As for example, It is generally believed there comes out every year between 15 or 18 Millions only in Horses, and we may well suppose it to be the least, especially this two or three years. The publick News inform us that by one Article alone the *Jews* of Metz have made a Treaty with the *French* King for 30000 Horse, this year to be gotten from Foreign Countries; & it is not the half of the number they must have from thence, for Equipages and Baggages of the Generals and Officers or Horse, Foot and Dragoons, and the Tents of the Regiments. As also, for the remounting the Cavalry and Dragoons, besides the Artillery and the Provisions. I said, it is thought they got 60000 Thousand good serviceable Horses from abroad, besides as many which the Territory of *France* furnishes yearly, That is in all, sixscore thousand Recruit-Horses or Mules every year, which is about half the number that is in all the Armies, so many perhaps do not dye every year in the Armies. But those that are become unfit for that service are included in the number :

ber; Now if you esteem them to be worth a Hundred Crowns a piece one with another, the 60000 thousand forementioned will amount to 18 Millions of Livers, or reckon them only at two hundred and fifty Livers a piece, it will come to 15 Millions. I mean 60000 thousand Horses fit to mount a Cavalier atleast for the small ones are not mentio'ed in the number.

He paieth great Sums to the *Turks*, as also to Count *Teckely*.

He is used to lay great Sums for the maintenance of his Correspondencies, and Spyes in Foreign Countries, and for bribing the Officers of Princes.

He is obliged to pay every year considerable sums to the *Switzers* for to continue in his Alliance, as also for the Troops they furnish him with, besides what he may give to some neutral Princes.

He has these late years been at great charges about his intrigues at *Rome*, insomuch that it is reported the Marquis *de la Vardin*, who was his Embassador there in the late Pope's Reign, did spend yearly two hundred thousand Crowns of his own in order to serve his Master the better, by which he wasted a great part of his Estate. Neither must we forget the high Pensions, which the Cardinals and other Prelates of the *French Faction* do get from the *French King*, besides the *French Cardinals* who are continually at *Rome*, without mentioning the usual Tribute, which they call *les deniers de S. Pierre*, That is, *S. Peters pence*, or the servitude Money, which the Pope gets annually from *France*, under several names: As for the Annates, Bulls, Dispensations for Sin, &c. which amount yearly to some Millions of Livers, perhaps to as much, as the *French King* may extort by the Contributions from his Enemies Territories.

There goe also not inconsiderable sums out of *France* to *Malta* every year for the maintenance of the *French Commanders* and *Knights* who are there.

The Garison of *Cazai* is also an extream charge to the *French*, and that amounts some years to above a Million of Livers, all spent in *Italy*. *Pignerol* in like manner, before the War was declared by the D. of *Savoy*, was a great charge, for *France* bought very dear all her Provisions for those two places, out of *Piedmont*, *Mount. ferrat* and *Milan*.

The *French* for these two last years, have procured themselves abundance of Corn out of Foreign Countries, which must needs have deprived them of great sums of Money; besides the great quantities they still continue to get.

They also lay out since this War great sums for their Naval Provisions, they get from the North, which is an infinite charge to them, by reason of their great Fleets, and that they are very far from the Baltic Sea, and that passing near *England* and *Holland* their Ships may be taken. When Wines and Brandy were plentiful in *France*, they could give them in exchange, but these two years all must be paid in clear Money.

There comes also out of *France* great sums for the use of their Frontier Towns, which are supplied in a great many things, from the *Spanish Netherlands* and from *Liege*, notwithstanding the Confederates Prohibitions, and especially in Corn and dry Fish.

We must not doubt likewise but all the Refugees which are dispersed all over *Europe* do get abundance of Money from *France* every year. (It matters not whether it be by Bills of Exchange or by any other way, for it comes all to one.) Besides those that daily come out from thence; even several Papists who save themselves where they can.

Besides all this, it is generally believed, That ten Millions of Gold and Silver are yearly destroyed in *France*; in Gold and Silver Galloons and Fringes, as also in Gold and Silver Stuffs, without reckoning the making, and what is saved out of these things by burning them after they are worn: That is, to say, ten Millions of evident loss upon the metal which falls in the Dust, or which comes to Ashes, for the *French* King will have, all the Officers of his Armies both high and low, together with all his Household to be covered with it, the Court, and also every man who has any Estate do imitate the same; besides, the Ladies whose vanity exceeds all bounds: and at this very time when the Kingdom is scourged with the three plagues of God, their folly is still the same.

It is also certain that being *France* has not any freedom of Trade, except a little in the Mediterranean Sea, they are at great charges in employing Foreign Ships, to bring them the Commodities they stand in need of, such as the *Swedes, Danes, Portugueses, and Genoueses, &c.* I confess that *England* also is at some charges upon that same account, but much less than the *French*; because our Commerce being greater, and the *Dutch* often joyning, we commonly give Corvoys to Numbers of Ships which sail in Company.

The Money which is yet remaining in that Kingdom goes all towards the Frontiers for the Payment of their Troops, so that the inward Provinces are quite exhausted; by reason that the Money is continually taken out without returning. Those Provinces being too remote from the Frontiers, so that they furnish them with little or no Merchandizes. They are not only drained by the enormous Taxes which the King forces them to Pay, but also because all the Nobility and Gentry, except those that are incapable of it by their Age or any other Infirmary, are serving in the Armies, and that the Wages of those in the Service are not sufficient to keep and maintain them, being so mean, and that especially because of the dearness of Victuals both in the Armies and in the Frontiers, which make their Respective Fathers, Mothers, or Wives or Guardians, send them out of the Province all the Money they can make up: it is reckoned that in all that King's Armies there are above Forty Thousand Officers, comprehending the Cadets, Life-Guards, Musqueteers, Light-Horses and Gen darmes and other distinguished Troops of that King's Household, who cannot live by their small Wages; besides this all the great Lords, Bishops and other fat Church-men, who enjoy great Livings, do seldom live in the Country, and so their Revenue is carried to *Paris*; and as the Nobility and Gentry is overlaid with Debts their Creditors must be contented with a Paper from the King called Letters *d'Etat*, by which is declared to the Creditor, that whereas such a one has a Son or a Husband in the King's Service, he is discharged from paying any thing, during the same Persons Service, so that all the Money is employed in the King's Service in the Armies. And besides all that, as I have already said, all Commerce and Manufactures are down, besides

besides the great Scarcity of Wine, Corn, and other Fruits this Year. From whence then should the Money come ?

I acknowledg indeed that several of those wayes of expence I named before, by which Money is conveyed out, were in *France* before this War. As the Tribute exacted by the Pope. That *Maltha*, *Pignerol*, *Caxal*, the *Swissers* and other States and Princes were used to get much from *France*, as well as the King's Pensionaries and Spyes in Foreign Courts; that their Naval Provisions from the North did cost them considerable Sums, &c. But besides that they did not spend any Money or little in Foreign Horfes, the *Turk* did not get so much from them, and the *Swissers* and other Neutral Princes had undoubtedly lesser Subsidies. Their Sea-Magazines were not so chargeable neither; they had then plenty of Corn, Tallow, Leather, Wooll, dry Fish and other Provisions; and were not forced to get them from others for Money. Besides all this, I say, *France* was not exhausted both by a dreadful Persecution, and by a violent War, for the time of Six Years, with so many Potent Kingdoms and States united against her. *France* was in that time a Flourishing Kingdom, where all sorts of Trade and Manufactures were in Vigor, a Populous Country abounding with Money, well Cultivated, full alwayes of Foreign Nobility, who brought thither all the Wealth and Riches of their own Countries. Money did then circulate in all the Provinces, the Nobility and Gentry were abiding there. Whereas now 'tis quite the contrary. All the Money is gone; all the incomes, as well Publick as Private are come to nothing, and the expences increased, no Trade at all, no Work for the People, few Men left, and yet new Exorbitant Taxes to pay, and without Bread.

I confess that by the Contributions he Raises upon the Territories of some of the Confederates, he may get 3 or 4 Millions of Livers yearly. But sometimes he Pays as much to them, as especially this Year, 'Tis true also, that it is not so much he that is at a loss by it, as the poor Inhabitants of those Countrys; for he would not for all that abate a Farthing of all the Taxes he lays upon them. But what is Three or Four Millions! Those Contributions are a very small Compensation to him for the decays of his ordinary

ordinary Revenues in the Conquered Lands. The yearly Revenues of *Alsatia*, *Lorrain*, *Franche-Comte*, *Luxemburgh*, *Artois*, *Cambresis*, *Hainault*, and the *French Flanders*, are mightily fallen since the War: 'tis true the Common-people being incapable of paying the usual Taxes, he does Plunder and Rob from those that are more able: And in the great Towns, notwithstanding the extraordinary and exorbitant impositions, without any regard to the desolation caused by his Troops, Money indeed is plentiful, but Victuals are excessive dear, and their Lands destitute of Cattle, and untilld for the most part, because the *French* Horse do consume all the Forrage.

I grant also, That King *James* with his Adherenets in *France* may get some Money from *England*. But who can make any doubt, but that the Refugees here, as I insinuated before, may get as much from *France* annually, besides those that come over every day, amongst which there are always some who bring something along with them. I mention only those that are here, or that daily come over.

We do not hear, That any Foreign Nation lends any sums to the *French* King, but we know certainly that the *Dutch* have sent several Millions into the *Exchequer*, as well as the Refugees who live in *Holland*, which helps something to the making Money to be more plentiful here in *England*. Those two Articles I had omitted before, which are not inconsiderable, for they bring much Money in.

By all those reasons, I am perswaded the *French* King will be forced to raise very much the value of his Coin, the next year, unless he obtains a Peace from the Allies this Winter; but 'tis likely he will make his utmost endeavours for it; whether by attacking several places in *Flanders* before the Spring, to try whether he may force them to it by that means; or by offering to make a restitution of all the Usurpations he has made since the *Pyrenean* Treaty, and by giving a full satisfaction to *England*, which would be the most compendious and safest way, to save all his People, which is ready to perish utterly by Famine and other Calamities.

As for the Prizes the *French* take from us at Sea, if you except some few Ships, where considerable Sums have been found in Money or Golden Pouders, the other Prizes do not bring any money to the *French*: All the effect they produce, is, that their own Commodities of the same Nature are cheaper, and by that means, if one of them gains, the other loses, as it is here with us, when some of our Ships are taken, the Owners lose, but others get by it, because they have a better vent of their Commodities of the same nature, and sometimes the very same man that loses a Ship, having a good quantity of the same Goods in his Store-house, sells it better than he would have done otherwise, if the Ship lost were arrived safely; and so he is in a manner indemnified. We don't hear they sell their Prizes to any other Nation, for who should buy them? We have a free Trade with them all, but not with the *French*. I confess that some small Ships have been redeemed for a Ransom from them, but it is an inconsiderable matter. Their Privateers do indeed disturb both our and the *Dutch's* Trade, and some of them may make a good Fortune, when there is money or Gold, or Silver in Bars or Powder to be found; but they do very little or no good to *France* in general. The Prizes they take from us may indeed deprive us of some money, when they consist in such Foreign Commodities imported, which we cannot well spare, and so are obliged to get the like again. But then, on the other side, it saves us money, because the fear of the same Privateers restrains the Merchant from bringing or importing many superfluous things, which may very well be spared, and makes the same Commodities rise so much in price, that less is wasted thereof: Besides that, it causes many of our Productions or Manufactures to rise in value, and so is an encouragement to many. The greatest mischief the *French* Privateers or Men of War have done to the Nation in general since this War (for I do not consider her particular men, nor even Companies losses, tho' I resent and pity them very much, but only the General and National) is this, That our Silk and Camel-hair Manufactures suffer this year, and that some Merchants money may be less Current, and the Custom-Houses may now and then bring less money to the King, importation being less than it was before

before. But, as I have plainly shewn, we are abundantly recompensed for those and all other losses, by the great advantages we enjoy.

If any body having not examined things as I have, should judge I am excessive or defective in the Sums of money, or in the numbers of men or Horses which I tell here and there; in relation to the *English* or *French* Nation, he is at liberty to, add to or take off as much as he pleases, rather than to quarrel with me upon that, for I have set it as I judge it in Conscience, after a long consideration of things, and there is not one Article but I undertake to make it good, as much as such things can be proved, and I have good Authorities and Reasons for it.

I will finish this Discourse with a remark upon God's blessing upon this Nation, which is this; That God has made use of the poor *French* Refugees for enriching this Kingdom with the greatest part of the Manufactures above mentioned, as a reward of the Christian Charity and Hospitality used towards them; and as I suppose they have a true thankfulness for their Benefactors: So 'tis mightily to be wished, That the same bowels of compassion of those that are in Authority, should be moved at this time to continue their charities towards so many hundreds of the same Refugees, who living formerly upon good Estates in their own Country, have not learnt any Trades, or being old and infirm, cannot work at all, and suffer, (as I am rightly informed) very much through hunger and cold. I hope also, That many of our common sort of People, who say the Refugees take away the bread from their Mouths, will consider hereafter, That among those poor people who live upon Charity, or by the labour of their hands, many others have brought considerable Sums of Money hither, which are beneficial to the Kingdom: others have taught the *English* to make those new Manufactures, upon which so many thousands get their livelihood, and for that reason deserve we should be kind to them: So doing, God will continue to bless us all, as we see he punishes even now in this World the inhumanity and cruelty of *France*, and rewards the beneficency of *England* towards those poor Christians.

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